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(Before it passed)

JAILED FOR FREEDOM

Some Phases in the Front Line of a War for
Democracy Not Quite Won



Burning President Wilson's Meaningless Words on Democracy

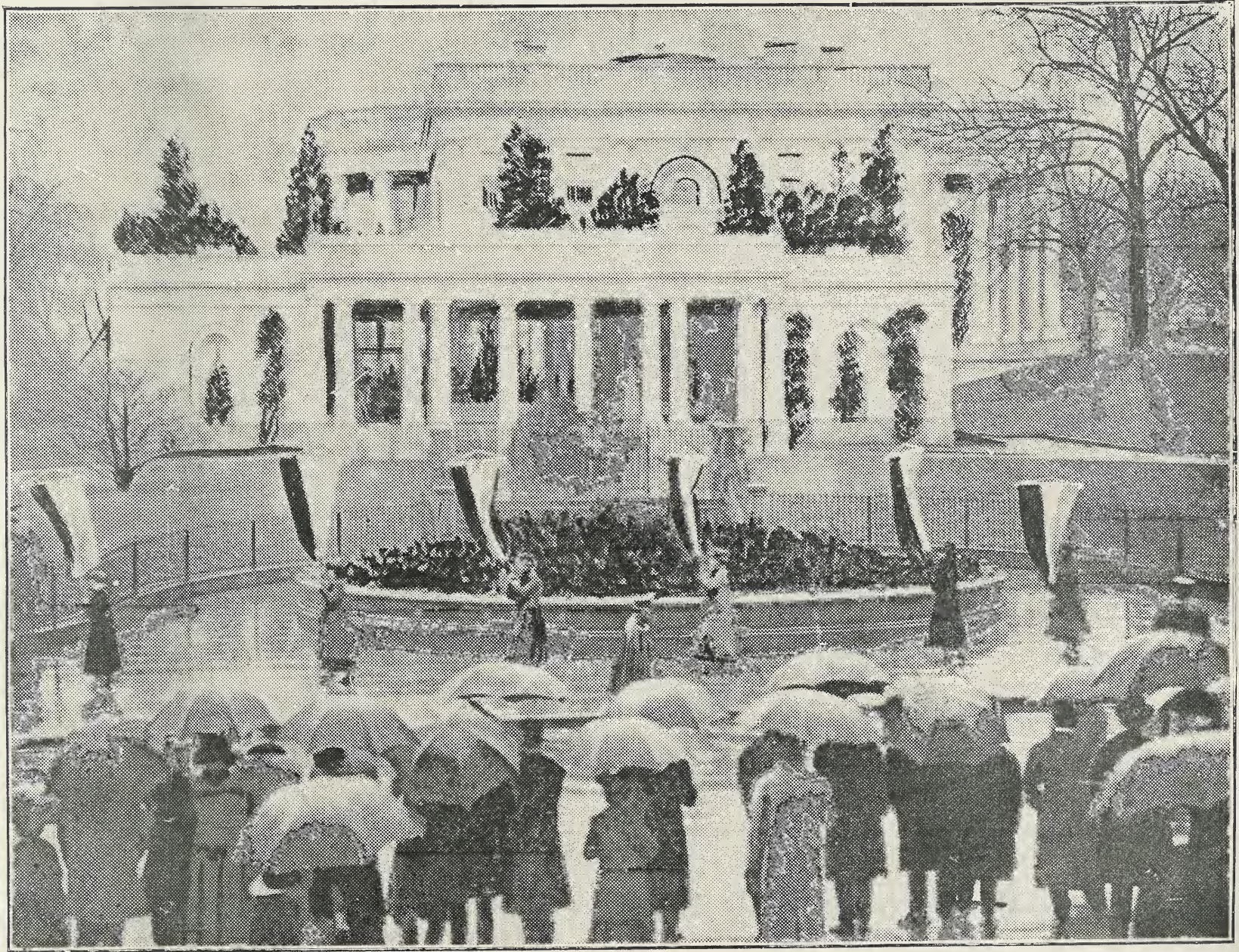
Some Recent Phases of the Battle for Equal Suffrage

MR. PRESIDENT, how long must women wait for liberty?"

With these words—a woman's plea to the head of the American nation—Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, in

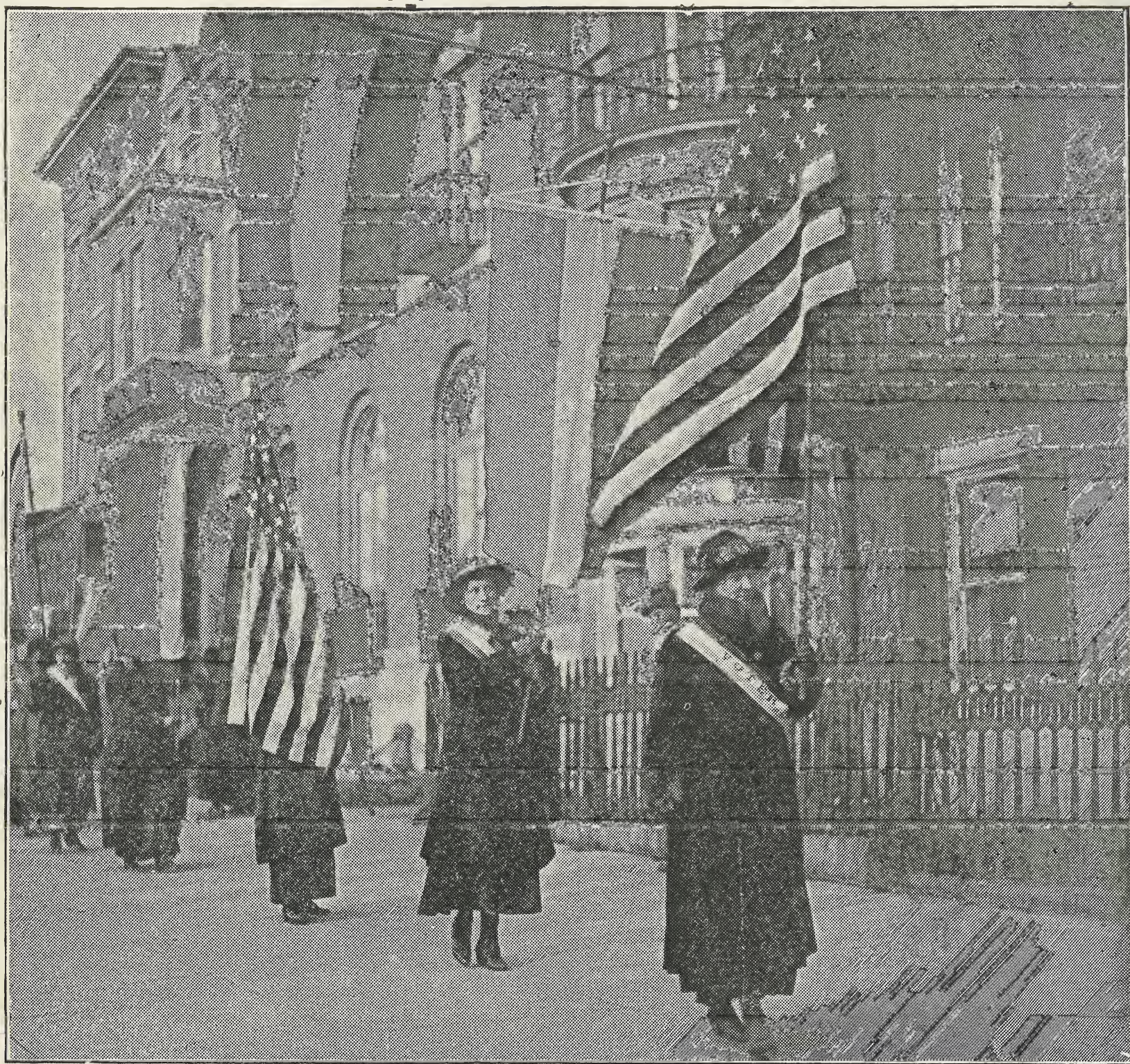
the lead at the front line, fell in the women's battle for democracy. This was on the stage of a Los Angeles theatre, in 1916; and she died soon afterward.

But that same battle cry has now come to be familiar among the women of the ranks as they continue to carry on the struggle—determined to carry on till there is peace with victory. It has



Inauguration Day, 1917

One Thousand Women Circled the White House to Petition for Action on Suffrage



Suffragists Leaving Headquarters for Daily Guard at the White House

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Hazel H. Hallinan

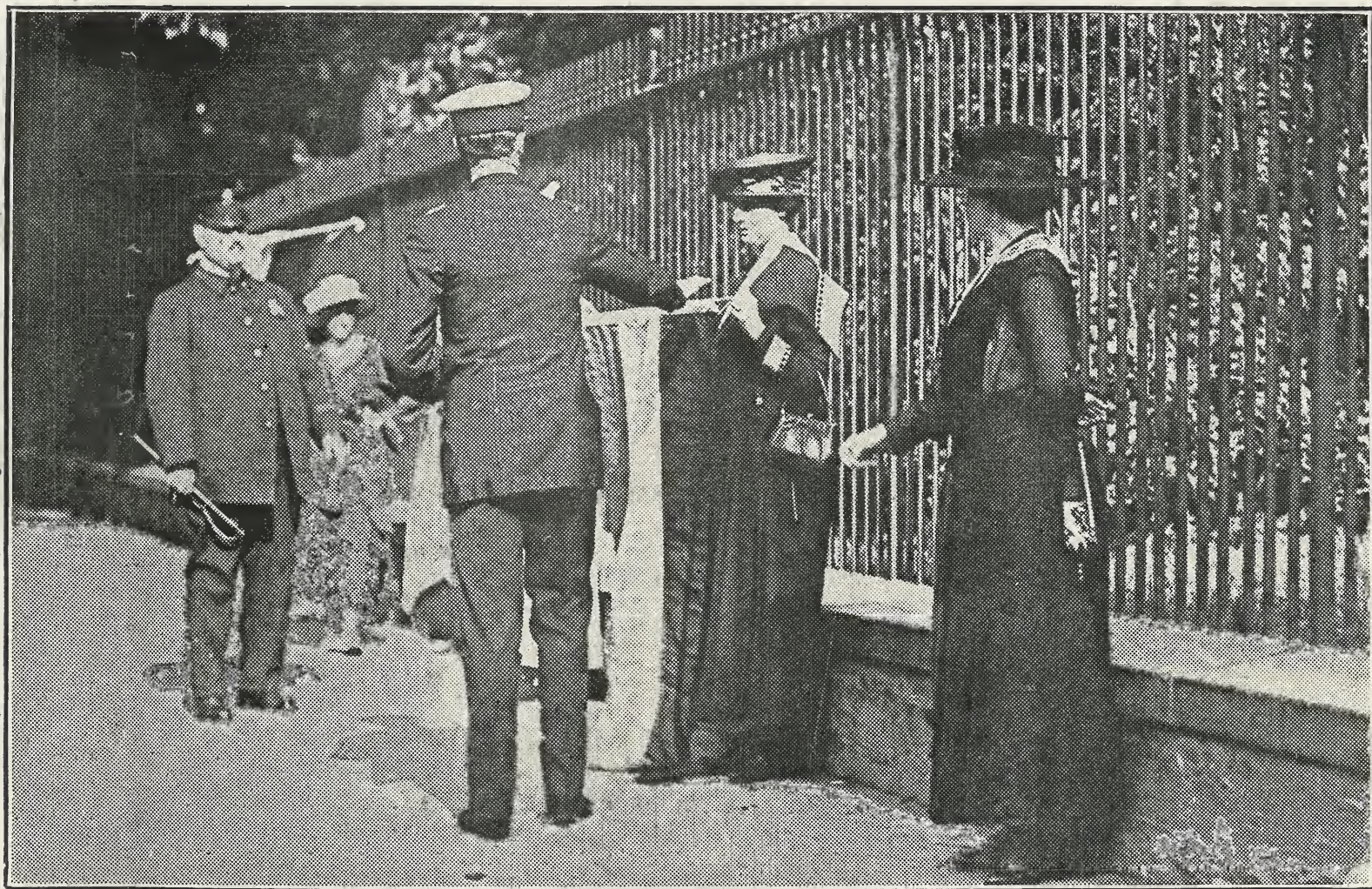
been uttered often, and will be. Often it has shone forth upon the banners of militancy for the actual freedom of women; it shines there to-day.

"How long must women wait for liberty?" The question carries far, and with it a note of assurance that it will not cease to be asked until there is no longer a doubt about the answer. For asking it, in one insistent form or another, 137 American women have been imprisoned—sentenced 208 times to serve 4,916 days in jail—and actually spent 2,254 days behind prison bars under conditions which are brutalizing for the poorest offender and tragically cruel for the delicately reared and sensitive women who are carrying on the war against autocracy in the United States.

It seems an altogether serious matter, a matter of true concern to honest American men, that women of their own country should be actually, in the truest sense of the word, terrorized simply because they have the courage to face the government with the perfectly answerable request: "How long must women wait for liberty?" That is, indeed, the most serious crime these women have ever committed—asking that question. Prosecutors have tried hard enough to find some more serious accusation to level; but again and again the courts of best standing have found that the prosecutors have failed. Wrongfully arrested, wrongfully committed to jail, and wrongfully held there, the records of the highest courts

show the cases of these women to be. But the inhumanities practiced against the women, the physical sufferings endured by them, the obscenities they recoiled from—these things have not come under the judicial scrutiny of the courts, although the details are lurid enough in all their truthfulness to produce a national scandal if Congress ever gets down to the task of conducting the investigations that the resolutions introduced there contemplate.

The story of the militant battle for equal suffrage in the United States, carried on under the banners of the National Woman's Party, is one that, when somebody tells it fully and humanly, will enthrall with its romance and stir grave thoughts with its realism; it will



The Police Arresting Suffragists on the Charge of "Obstructing Traffic"

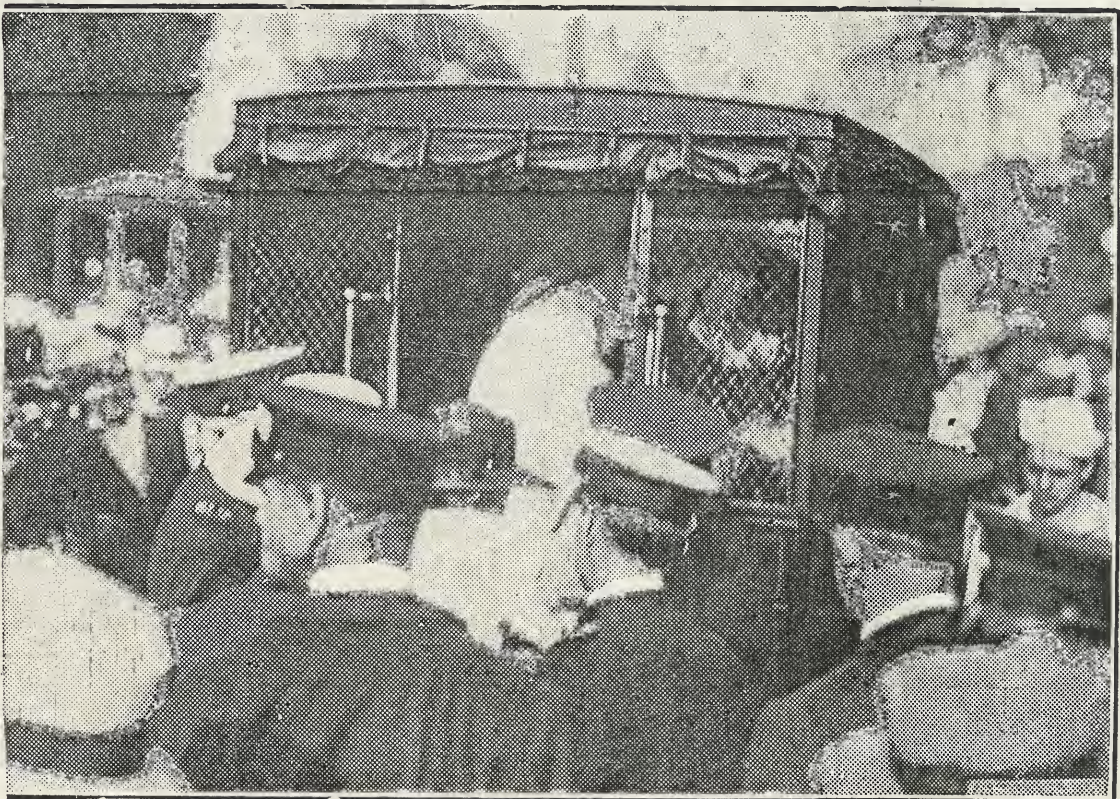
be a big story, and much of it will be terrible; but it will be a story that will command all our traditional chivalry and gracious respect for American womanhood, courageous and awake—the *fighting* womanhood of a strong nation.

Part of the story is told herein. Less than a fragment of it, perhaps. But the capsule will be good for you. It will prepare you, possibly, to digest the *big* one when it finally comes.

II.

THAT the story of woman's fight for freedom is a big one and a long one is easily surmised when one knows that it had its concrete beginnings at the time of the Revolution. Indeed, under a number of the colonial governments women did actually vote. And when the Revolution had been fought, and the men who were its leaders took the destiny of the new country into their hands to make a government for it, there was a considerable demand by the women that they be included in the government; and Abigail Adams wrote to John Adams, her husband, saying: "If women are not represented in this new republic, there will be another revolution." The Constitution John Adams and his compatriots made, however, did not and does not yet present any indication that the far-seeing woman's vision was shared by enough men to give her words real hearing.

Women agitated for suffrage, then, from the Revolution until 1848, by holding small meetings, writing letters to officials and circulating petitions. The Woman's Rights Convention, arranged by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, the first large suffrage demonstration in the country. From then on, until the Civil War, efforts were



First Picture: The arrest of Miss Catherine Flanagan, Conn., and Mrs. William Watson, Ill., at east gate of the White House, Friday, August 17th, 1917. The arresting of women begins to gather large crowds. Their banner reads "How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?"

Second Picture: Suffragists hurried into police patrol.



Washington "Patriots" Destroying Suffrage Banners

Mobs Gathered Around White House by Action of Police in Arresting Pickets

pushed to have state laws changed to include women, and Susan B. Anthony became a leader in the movement.

But the Civil War was on, now; and women were told they must not bother with unimportant things in such a national crisis. Miss Anthony's protests notwithstanding, the women were persuaded by their men in Congress that "when the war was over, justice would be done them." And when the war was over, their organization dissipated and their funds exhausted, the women found the promise broken, and justice denied them. Years were spent by the slowly reorganizing followers of Susan B. Anthony in attempts to get an interpretation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution that

would allow women to vote, and to no avail. Then, in 1872, Miss Anthony herself determined to put the matter to a test, went to the polls to vote, was arrested, and refused to pay a fine.

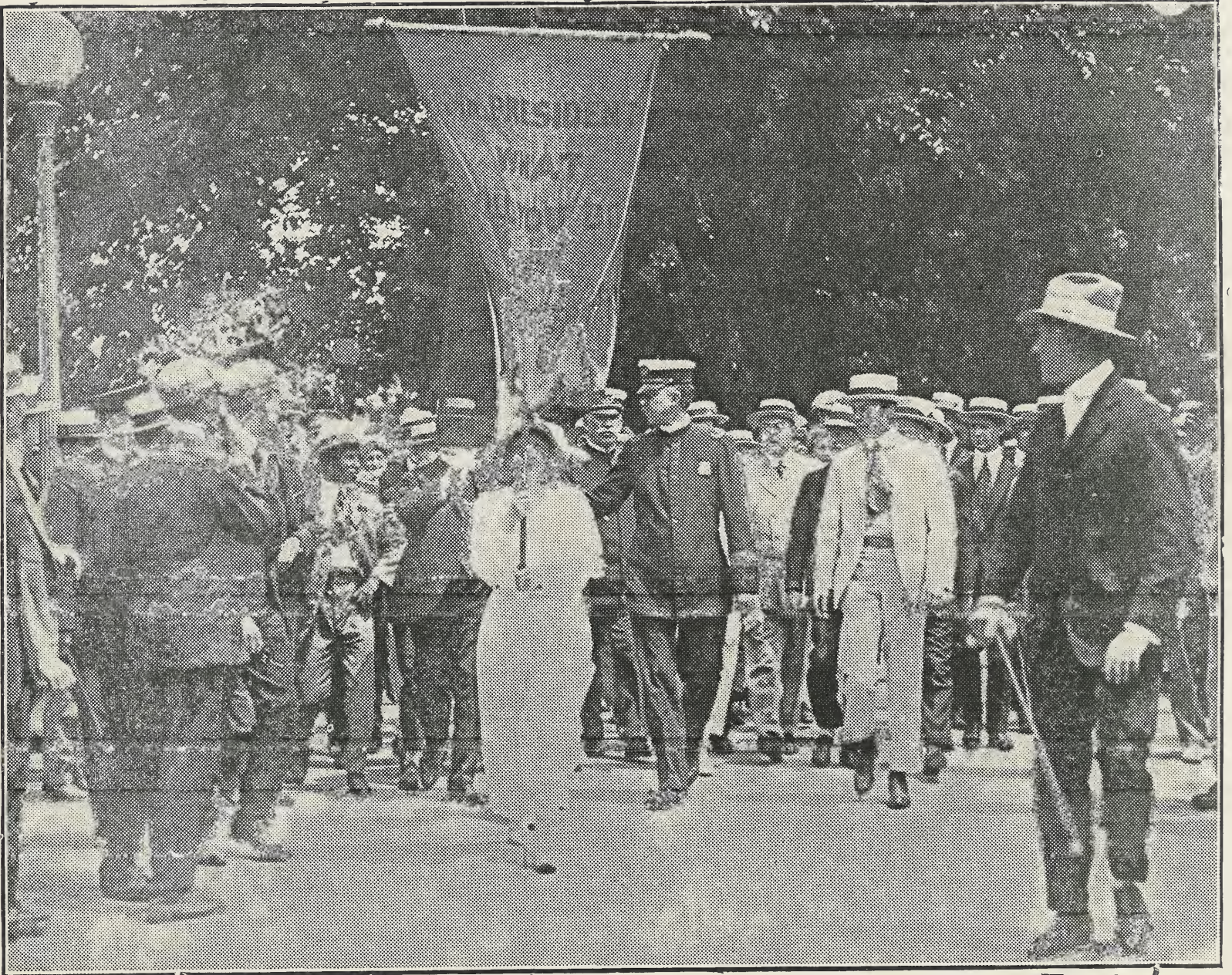
Send her to jail? They did not!

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex." That was the

constitutional amendment which Miss Anthony drafted in 1875. It was introduced in the Senate by Senator Sargent, of Colorado, from year to year received due consideration in committee in both houses of Congress, first with an adverse majority, thereafter sometimes one way and then another, but failing of passage when put to a vote on the floor.

Until, of course, its passage, by the necessary two-thirds, in the House on the 10th of January, 1918—which is getting a bit ahead of the story.

Miss Anthony always had advocated securing suffrage for women by federal action, and made strong protest against the necessity of laborious state campaigns. But, side by side with the campaign for federal action, the state ef-



Miss Mabel Vernon of Delaware Marches to the White House

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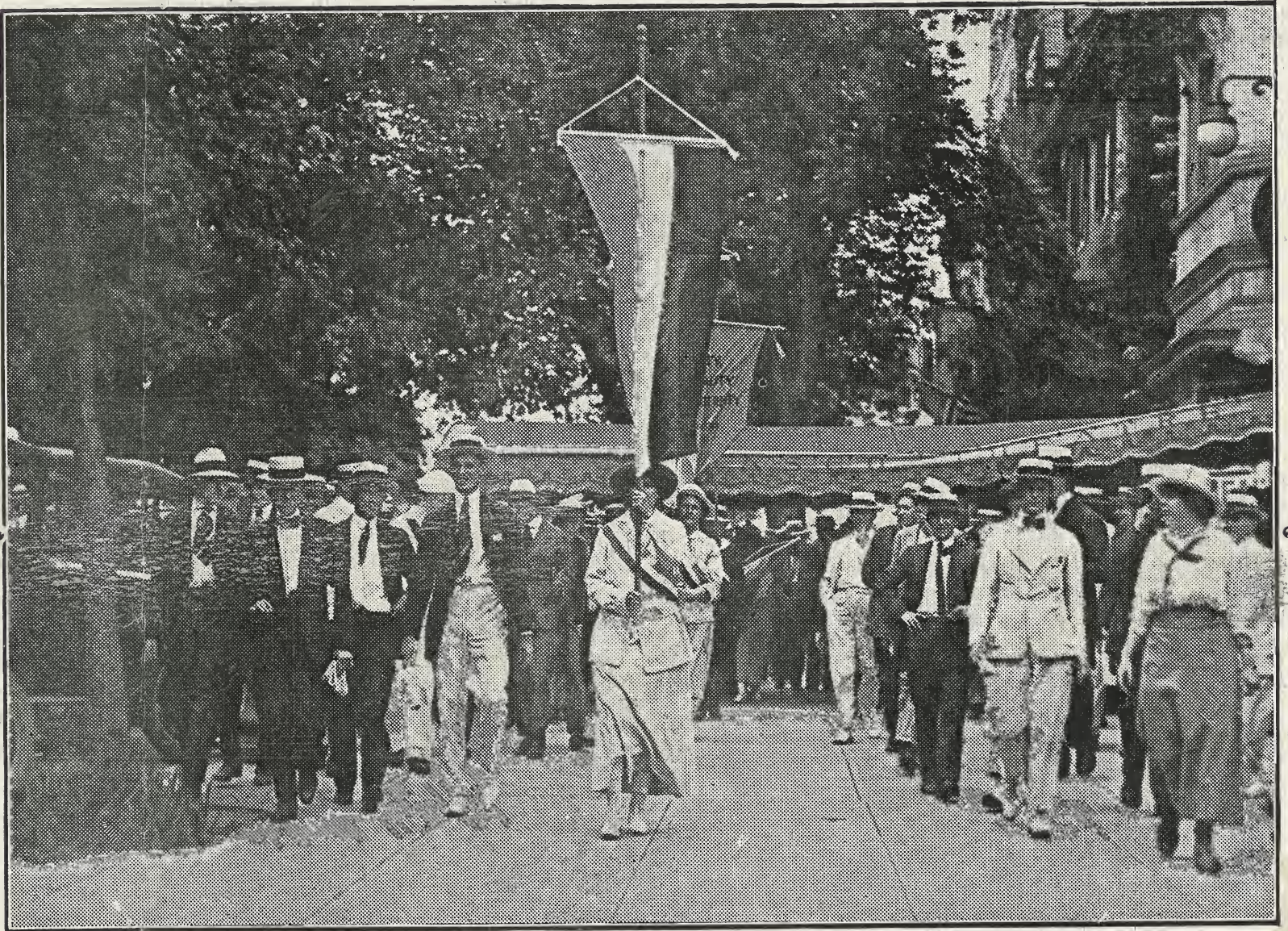
forts continued until, through the endeavors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, women had won their right to vote in nine of the states. This, in 1912.

Which brings us to the Congressional Union, and that which grew out of it—the National Woman's Party. The Union, organized by Alice Paul in 1913

to finance an intensive campaign to obtain the passage of the federal amendment, became a separate organization the year after to concentrate upon its sole aim, the passage of the Anthony amendment.

Demonstrative suffrage agitation now became an unquenchable fire the country over, meaning more than it ever had

meant before. It became something that the men governing the country found themselves compelled to reckon with in big terms. Mass meetings and parades took place everywhere on the 2d of May, 1914, and the week afterward suffrage was reported out in the House for the first time in twenty years. In January, 1915, when it came



Miss Julia Hurlbut, of New Jersey, leading a group of sixteen Suffragists, on July 14, carrying banners inscribed "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality." The whole group was arrested. The police testified in court that they had to hold back the crowds.

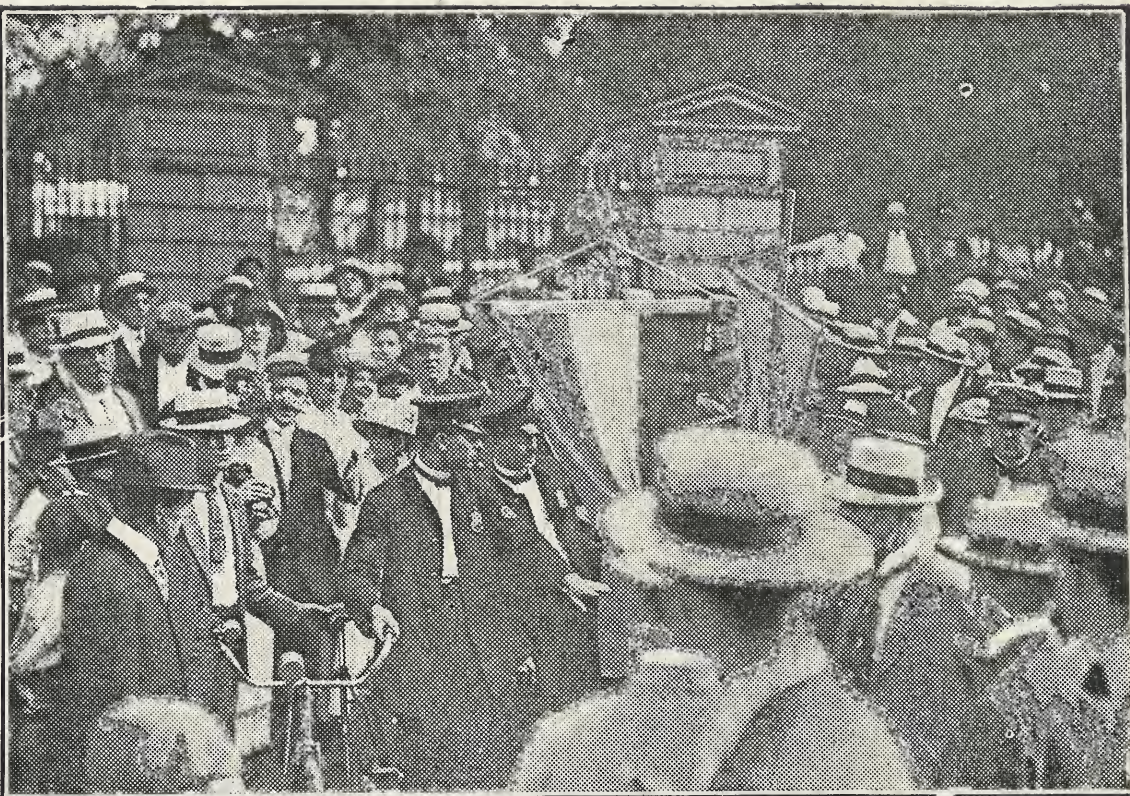
to a vote, Democratic control of the House again defeated the amendment. Next year the National Woman's Party was formed in Chicago, with a single plank—suffrage for women—and the battle has been from front line positions ever since.

III.

BECAUSE the Democratic Party, controlling Congress, was responsible for the defeat of the Anthony amendment in both House and Senate, the National Woman's Party's efforts have been directed chiefly against the election of Democratic candidates for election to Congress. Because the Democratic administration has steadily obstructed the amendment, the militancy of the National Woman's Party strikes and has struck at the party that put the administration in power. Because President Wilson has the power, both as the nation's executive and as the avowed leader of his party, and long has had the power to swing the Democratic opposition into support of the amendment that will free American women, and because he has failed to exercise his power—preferring, instead, a more and more insufferable lip-service—the women's cry is, "*Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?*"

These words are as familiar to him as his own about making the world safe for democracy! For conveying them to him, women have been repeatedly thrown into jail. For reminding him of *his own words*, they have been mobbed, struck at, and dragged into foul cells.

From January until November, 1917, suffrage pickets from headquarters of the National Woman's Party stood at the gates of the White House to call the



First Picture: Miss Edna Dixon, D. C., and Miss Lavinia Dock, Pa., arrested while holding banner inscribed "England and Russia are Enfranchising Women in War Time." The gate was deserted till the police drew a crowd from the lower gate.

Second Picture: Showing composition of crowd at east gate of White House, where small boys, government clerks, and sailors waited for the announced arrests.



President's attention to the fact that he, as leader of his party—the party in power—was responsible for the absence of action on the suffrage amendment.

When, in April, President Wilson

went before Congress with his war message, he said:

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have

a voice in their own government."

When a woman carried a banner past the gates of the White House and the banner bore these, the President's words, she was arrested.

THIS WAS THE FIRST BANNER HAULED DOWN! THIS WAS THE FIRST OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PICKETS ARRESTED!

"Denmark, on the verge of war, gave her women the vote. Why not give it to American women now?"

It was on the day after the breaking off of relations with Germany, that banners making this display were carried by the pickets. Administration powers were fuming, but no molestation yet. It required a transposition of President Wilson's own words from his manuscript on the congressional rostrum to a banner, peacefully borne in the public street by a woman wanting *that very democracy*, to precipitate violence. It was violence! That's what the arrest was—without authority in law, God's ethics or human conscience.

Then the war was on—and conscription. And on the day of the draft day parade in Washington, sixteen of the women went forth—in pairs—to stand before the White House with their bannered sentiments: "It is unjust to deny women a voice in the government when the government is conscripting their sons."

All of these women were arrested. They were sentenced to serve sixty days each in the District workhouse. And they served them.

It seems inconceivable that there ever could have been a more flagrant case of "railroading."

"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," said a banner which Mrs. Helena Hill Weed carried on the Fourth of July, 1917. She was arrested and sent to jail. Significant words. As significant in American hearts as the day. And Mrs. Weed *was arrested and sent to jail!* The day was the Fourth of July. And the criminal words—you will find them in that rather famous document, the *Declaration of Independence*.

We were an ally of France then and thereafter, and it was fitting that, since our soldiers were going to help "lick the Germans" at Chateau Thierry and a few other places, there be celebrations of Bastille Day in this country. So the day—July 14—was celebrated. But the American suffragists who carried banners in Washington, bearing the



District of Columbia Workhouse, previously unused for eight years, in which Suffragists were imprisoned in August, 1918. Their cells were below the level of the upper door, and far below the upper windows.

French motto of freedom, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," were arrested and their banners mutilated as things contemptible and wholly in discord with American conceptions of what is liberty, what is equality and what is brotherhood.

President Wilson was very forceful when, in appealing for "over-the-top" Liberty Loan subscriptions, he said: "The time has come to conquer or submit. For us there is but one choice. We have made it." A banner bearing these words from the lips of President Wilson was carried by Alice Paul on the 16th of October.

"Six months," said the judge.

Hidden in among the cases of arrests here referred to, and among the many others that can not be enumerated here, is an incident marking a not yet explained and still emphatically puzzling contrast.

In June and August, 1917, there were demonstrations by the picketers that got what was probably the most notoriety of any held during the year, by reason of the famous Russian banner and another referring to the President as "Kaiser Wilson." These banners caused more critical comment and more bitter denunciation in the press than any others ever displayed. And yet not one of the women participating was arrested.

Somebody of the picket forces was curious enough to inquire how it could be possible that no arrests had been made. And a confidentially inclined policeman replied: "Our orders was changed."

Orders of arrest. Orders *not* to arrest. *Whose* orders? And by authority of what, as yet, unenacted bill of legislation?

IV.

JUST one year from the day the first picket line went out to show its courage and its determination, the United States House of Representatives passed the Susan B. Anthony amendment. It was the 10th of January, 1918. The vote was 274 to 136. The Republicans in the House who voted in

First Picture: Suffragists imprisoned in the old workhouse.

Second Picture: Mrs. Lawrence Lewis arriving at Headquarters after 5 days' imprisonment.



favor of the amendment numbered 165, while but 33 of that party cast their votes in opposition—32 of the 33 being representatives from industrial centers in the East, where woman's exploitation in industry is conspicuous. But little more than half—104 for, 102 against—of the Democratic majority in control of the House favored the amendment. Five independents voted for, one against it, and seventeen members did not vote.

Now for the Senate. That was where the thoughts of the liberty-seeking women turned in considering developments to come. What would the Senate do? As the women carried on their campaign in the manner that thus had found effect in the House of Representatives, it turned out that while the Republican supporters of the amendment were able to round up a heavy majority that would vote for the amendment, the situation on the Democratic side—the side in control—was such as to overbalance the favorable forces mustered among the Republicans. Two or three of those obstinate ones on the Democratic side could have been turned from their course of opposition by the power of party leadership. But that leadership did not manifest itself in any such effective fashion; and Senate leaders, without a rebuke from the President, blocked action on the amendment by filibustering against a vote.

There began, on August 6, a series of suffrage demonstrations around the Lafayette statue, opposite the White House; to lay stress upon the President's failure to obtain the passage of the Anthony amendment. The demonstrations continued—peaceable assembly always, until the police or police-protected roughs and scoffers ignited trouble. Twenty-six of the women were arrested within five days, but on the 20th all of the prisoners were unconditionally released. The authorities dared not enforce the sentence they imposed.

President Wilson's speech, in which he gave a vague promise of support for the suffrage amendment, was burned during a demonstration at the Lafayette statue on the 16th of September, the burning a symbol that women rejected words and demanded action.

The next day Democratic leaders at last brought up the suffrage amendment for a vote in the Senate. President Wilson, with characteristic power of phrase, went before the Senate on October 1 and made an eloquent and rhythmic speech in support of the measure. The amendment was lost by two votes.

Three-fourths of the Republican Senate membership voted for it, nearly half of the Democrats voted against it. The Democratic Party went on record against democracy.

Since New Year's Day, 1919, the "Watch-fires of Freedom"—the burning of Wilson's speeches on liberty in Europe—have been going steadily on.

V.

MERE arrests don't mean much to the unarrested general public. Arrests are a vulgar—oh, yes, disgraceful—thing in themselves, but there is nothing very lurid about a mere arrest. But what have these arrests of women suffragists in Washington during the last two years really meant? What lies behind them is sinister, of course. But what of the hidden things—the filth, the vermin, the brutalities—and their impress upon these women, steadfastly standing for a principle?

There will be prison and jail reforms

in the United States as there never were before when the story of the persecution of the militant suffragists has its day! There are things in the stories and the affidavits of the women who have felt the oppressive blows in this fight—things about Occoquan workhouse and the District jail—which are hard to tell.

"One man's hand was at my throat," Dorothy Day, of New York, swore in an affidavit depicting her experiences under arrest. "With a great deal of violence, I was thrown on a bench that I had got up to move to, and left there for a few moments completely exhausted with trying to worm myself loose from three pairs of hands. Next I was taken to one of the punishment cells and thrown in with Miss Burns. There was only one cot between us; and the blankets that were on the bed were heavy with dirt. * * * There was a dirty open toilet in the room that could only be flushed on the outside of the



Miss Kate Heffelfinger being assisted into Headquarters upon her arrival from prison, August, 1918



The Police arrest Suffragists on their Way to the Capitol

cell by one of the guards or matrons. For about an hour after we were thrown into the cells, the guards walked up and down outside the open barred door so that it was impossible to undress, and most of us had to lie down in our clothes. Miss Burns started to call out to the other women to find out if any of them had been hurt in the scuffle, and Whittaker and one of his huskies came rushing to the door. "Shut up there, you," he yelled, shaking his fist in our faces. "If you do not keep your mouth shut, I'll put handcuffs and a straight-jacket and a buckle gag on you." Miss Burns went right on calling to her comrades, so the door was unlocked and Lucy Burns was handcuffed and chained up to the cell. Her arms were above her head and chained to the outside of the door."

Concerning conditions at Occoquan, Eleanor R. Calnan, of Lawrence, Mass., swore, among other terrifying things: "I told the doctor the soup made me sick, and I asked him to order a substitute for my supper. He refused, saying he could not change the diet because all

the women waiting in the hospital passage, I should say at least twenty, were sick from the same cause. I had nothing but bread and water for my suppers. I have many times seen worms taken from the breakfast cereal, and once I saw eight one-quarter inch long deposited on a small piece of bread, being one picket's morning 'catch.' Another time I saw in the food a worm an inch long and one-eighth inch wide."

"The jail conditions are frightful," reads a paragraph in Hilda Blumberg's affidavit. "The air is vitiating. The food is insufficient and bad. * * * In order to keep the supply of blankets down they keep the windows shut. Finally, after much pleading, we secured two windows half open. There are seventy-five persons now in that jail, and only two windows half open."

"At one time thirteen prisoners—two suffragists and eleven colored women, including one whose nose was nearly eaten away, to all indications, by syphilis—were housed in the hospital (at Occoquan) and used the bath, wash bowl and toilet in common. * * * The room occupied by the diseased colored woman during my stay in the hospital was occupied two weeks later by * * * two suffragists, locked in. * * * Large rats, both black and white, came in and out of our cells, up and down the corridors continually."



Women from 31 States Gathered in Washington, D. C., to Burn President Wilson's Speeches Abroad on Democracy



"The inmates (of Occoquan) with diseases are not isolated from the others; we are all forced to use the same toilets," swears Miss Margaret Fotheringham, domestic science specialist and teacher, of Philadelphia. "In the sewing room * * * there are four uncovered toilets with the old-fashioned untrapped plumbing, and sometimes the odors from these seem unbearable. Instead of going to the pump for fresh drinking water, we are compelled to drink from an open pail which stands next to these toilets."

And on go the affidavits, the sworn statements of women of culture and refinement combined with a remarkable courage. Each of these statements is a chapter of horrors. And yet, none of them is complete in its revelations. For it is a hard thing for a woman to tell how she scrubbed out disease-laden toilets with unprotected hands; how she struggled for cleanliness, without washcloth nor towel except the chemise she took from her body for the purpose. And—on!

It is the battle in the front line, in a war for democracy that is not quite won. Have you added your strength and your fighting power to win *this* struggle? A war for liberty and democracy, whether at home or in Europe, has demonstrated its futility if it does not carry with its triumph an *equality* of liberty and democracy for *women* and men. It has been futile, unless, along with it, there has been attached this amendment to the American Constitution: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

First Picture: Watchfire Demonstration January, 13th, 1919. The police have scattered the fire in the gutter. Munition workers from Connecticut took part in this protest. They were arrested and imprisoned.

Second Picture: Dr. Caroline Spencer, Colorado Springs, gathering together the fire which the police had scattered. Dr. Spencer brought with her pinyon wood from the forests of Colorado, to start the fire.





Watchfire Demonstration, January 13, 1919

This protest was held on the opening day of the great World Peace Conference that was to give the rights of self government to all European peoples